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## EDITORIAL

### A POLITICAL REVIEW OF 1959

**T**HE advent of the New Year is by custom a time for stock-taking, introspection, recognition of past errors and resolutions for better behaviour in the coming time.

The year has been most eventful at home as well as abroad. We shall cast a brief glance at the most outstanding events in the country that have raised far-reaching problems needing many years for us to solve satisfactorily.

In the economic field, the Nagpur Congress session in January took an epoch-making decision that will usher in regular communism in the agricultural field. It was that the future agricultural organisation in the country as a whole should fall into the pattern of village panchayats running cooperative farms. Individual ownership will gradually diminish and vanish in the end. Large holdings above 30 standard acres are to be transferred to tillers and tenants in the first instance to be pooled into cooperative farms in due course.

This abolishes private property in land in the end result. The consequence was that landowners were thoroughly alarmed and sponsored a new political party to defend individual rights under the leadership of Sri C. Rajagopalachari. It was called the **Swatantra Party** i.e. the Freedom Party. Mr. M. R. Masani and Prof. N. G. Ranga are the other leaders. The Party is going strong and has formed branches in all States except in Kerala. It is likely

to develop into the strongest opposition to Congress with an individualist freedom philosophy in economic and political affairs as its inspiring basis.

The National Development Council added to the food crisis by deciding of a sudden on the Policy of State Trading in Food Grains against the better judgment of the Food Minister, Mr. A. P. Jain, who resigned later on the issue. Mr. S. K. Patil has taken charge of the Food portfolio and is trying to build a buffer stock and step up production by adopting the Food Foundation Team's suggestions for intensive farming in selected areas.

### KERALA

Kerala has offered much food for thought and self-correction to Congress leaders and the country in general during the year.

The Communist Government of Mr. Namboodiri-pad over-reached itself by its excessive zeal for mobilising class antagonism if not war—especially the poorest and most primitive of the population namely the toddy tappers. They antagonised the middle classes by their indifference to murder charges against communist party men. Communist party men set up a State within a State of effect and ignored all democratic decencies. The people were thoroughly alarmed. The Education Bill antagonised the Nairs and Catholics (who run most of the schools in the State) by its attempt to capture the teachers through getting their salary paid to them through the Government and other measures of control.

The result was that Mr. Mannat Padmanabhan,

(an old leader of the Nairs who had fifty years educational work behind him) joined hands with the Christian school authorities and others and started a countrywide agitation to oust the communist government. The intensity and spread of the agitation astonished all people, within and without the State including the Prime Minister who visited it.

The result was that the President dismissed the communist Government finally and the people were free from the oppressive misrule. Fresh elections in the State are to take place in February which will decide whether the communists are to return or to go into exile. The success of the people's revolt against communism did not owe anything to the guidance of Central leaders, congress or official. Everything depended on the determination of the Keralites led by Mr. Padmanabhan.

Mr. Nehru as usual did not make up his mind for long and allowed the maximum opportunity to the communists, in effect. He did not show himself any shining exemplar of democracy.

It is clear that in fighting communism the people have to regard the Prime Minister as a handicap who strengthens it and gives it respectability. The hundreds of political murders and glaring attempts to corrupt the police and administrative personnel made by the Kerala communists did not evoke any serious displeasure in Mr. Nehru.

#### COALITION GOVERNMENT IN ORISSA

There was further set back to the Congress when in Orissa the Government was defeated and a coalition with the Ganatantra Party had to be established.

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#### DISSENSIONS IN CONGRESS

In Bihar, several Congress members of the Assembly voted against their own party!

In the U.P., as many as forty legislators threatened openly in the Assembly to vote against their own government and join the opposition! It was smoothed over by High Command intervention but the rift remains unsolved.

In the Punjab, charges of corruption and mal-administration extending to influencing the magistracy and officialdom have been laid against the Chief Minister Pratap Singh Kairon. The President has written to the Prime Minister suggesting that a Tribunal be instituted to enquire into such charges against Ministers and other high-placed persons. This has been rejected.

#### DIVISION OF BOMBAY INTO MAHARASHTRA AND GUJERAT

At long last this division has been decided upon by the Congress High Command. It has been a concession to popular demand not to justice but when the general election approaches so that a land slide may be avoided.

This has had an unfortunate repercussion in the Punjab where the Akalis have started an agitation for the division of their State too into Sikh and Hindu States—in effect if not in form! In form the controversy concerns the role of Hindi versus Gurumukhi-Punjabi. The regional formula regarding language and administrative benefits in force have already accepted the principle indirectly. The coming year will see a tragic intensification of this tangled problem. The Sikhs may have their State, if the past career of Congress diplomacy is any guide.

#### THE NAGAS AND JHARKHAND-WALLAS

The moderate Naga leaders have demanded through a recent conference resolution, the setting up of a separate Naga State for themselves within the Indian Union with a separate army for themselves.

The Central Government have not yet considered the question. Mr. Vishnuram Medhi has recently expressed himself against any such proposal as retrograde, reactionary and fraught with dangerous consequences for the future of Assam and India.

Mr. Jaipal Singh of the Bihar and Orissa tribes has long been agitating for a separate State for his tribesmen to be called Jharkhand. Mr. M. R. Masani has been returned to Parliament by these tribesmen on the Jharkhand ticket through the good auspices of Mr. Jaipal Singh. Here is another problem for the immediate future. The Pakistanis in East Bengal and the Nagas in Assam behind the NEFA set problems to us complicating matters at a time of Chinese aggression.

#### THE STEEL MILLS

One good feature shining against the background of depressing troubles on several fronts during the

year has been the commissioning of the first stage of blast furnace in the three big steel mills being constructed by the cooperation of Russia at Bhilai, West Germany at Rourkela and Britain at Durgapur.

The Americans have helped the Tatas and Indian Iron companies in the private sector to enlarge their output.

India is thus developing her own Ruhr Area. The four mills will develop an output of six million tons a year. The public sector mills are designed to double their output if necessary which may be taken up in the third Five Year Plan. They have been successful examples of foreign cooperation in high grade industrialisation.

### THE CHINESE AGGRESSION IN NEFA AND EASTERN LADAKH

The most outstanding event of the year is of course the dramatic aggression of Chinese troops into Indian Borders. This followed the Chinese suppression of the Tibetan rebellion and the flight of the Dalai Lama to India. The Indian expression of sympathy to Tibet and the Dalai Lama and the Indian Government's grant of asylum to him and the many thousands of Tibetan refugees angered the Chinese and impelled them to defy the Panchsheel agreement and to attack Indian border guards at Longju in NEFA adjoining Bhutan, killing a guardman, pushing the Indians back and occupying the place themselves.

But this provocation does not apply to the construction of a road in the northern tip of Kashmir-Ladakh in Acksachin which was begun soon after the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1951-52 and completed in 1956-57.

But the Prime Minister kept the country ignorant of this important and massive aggression by the Chinese to the astonishment and displeasure of the people, legislators and others, throughout the country. Mr. Nehru was hard put to it to regain the confidence of the people and even his own Congressmen who were shocked. Two White Papers have been issued giving a history of the dispute between China and ourselves and showing the positions under the occupation of the enemy.

The Chinese Premier suggested that a neutral corridor of twenty-five miles between the two lines of border forces be maintained pending negotiation. But this especially in Ladakh enables the Chinese to remain deep within Indian territory since they have penetrated and are occupying a depth of fifty miles! Prime Minister Nehru has made the counter suggestion that the Chinese withdraw to the Indian frontier in return for which India will withdraw to the border claimed by Chinese maps—thus creating a NO Man's Land pending negotiation.

Mr. Chou En-lai has ignored this offer but has laid claims for several other spots all along the northern border—in Himachal Pradesh, the Punjab

and U.P. as well. And there the matter stands at present.

It is with the greatest difficulty and much heated debate that the decision was wrung from the Prime Minister that he would prevent further border attacks or deal with them militarily. The military have been put in charge of the whole border. It remains to step up military expenditure to equip them for the task.

The country demanded that no negotiations should be entered into until the Chinese withdrew their forces from our grounds on the frontier and from Ladakh areas. But our Premier is not made of such stern stuff. He proposes to negotiate unconditionally, as the Communists party wants him to!

It is being realised by all that this dispute with China may extend into a rivalry for the leadership of South Asia. China is intimidating the border States of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. India has declared that the defence of these States is part of her own defence.

But India is doing nothing to check the Chinese communist propaganda in these areas.

There was a news item that the Chinese had penetrated into Nepal for information and propaganda and had planted a flag but were driven out by the people.

India needs a more resolute leadership with a more realistic policy. Panchsheel has failed. Non-alignment has failed, though Nehru is clinging to it in the hope of Khrushchev's intervention.

### SHRI V. K. KRISHNA MENON

Much dissatisfaction was expressed both in Parliament and outside with Shri V. K. Krishna Menon the Defence Minister in his handling of the Chinese aggression.

He spent much of the time after Longju attack in the UNO neglecting the far more important duty of defence. He minimised the aggression even refusing to give it its proper name of aggression. Even when the Chief of staff, General Thimmayya, submitted a plan for driving the Chinese out from Ladakh in 1917 when it was known to him, it was revealed later that the Defence Minister refused to entertain it saying that the enemy was Pakistan and Not India!

The Prime Minister has stoutly defended Mr. Menon in spite of his pro-communist and anti-national attitude. This has caused deep dissatisfaction to the country. There has been a countrywide demand for his dismissal.

### THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Another eye opener to the people has been the complete demonstration of the charge of extra-territorial loyalty against them. Instead of siding with the people against the foreign aggression, the CPI has refused to acknowledge the intrusion as an aggression and in the initial stages even refused to

recognise the McMahon Line as our border!

The people have experienced a great revulsion of feeling against them, though the CPI is still seeking to mislead the people and set the Chinese case before them.

They organised a procession in Calcutta in which pro-Chinese and anti-Indian and anti-Nehru slogans were freely used by vast crowds. This has been an eye opener to Nehru but he has done nothing to punish such anti-national demonstrations beyond warning Mr. Ajoy Ghosh in private meeting. The Chinese soldiers are on Indian soil. Technically, it is a state of war and in such a state of war, nationals who express anti-national sentiments should be punished, if patriotism and security mean anything to our Government.

### INDO-PAKISTAN DETENTE

The advent of President Ayub Khan has brought a certain relaxation of tension between Pakistan and India.

The Eastern Border problems have been re-negotiated and ground rules agreed upon. There has been a suggestion from President Ayub Khan for an Indo-Pak regional defence agreement, which needs close and sympathetic examination at India's hands in mutual interests.

### PRESIDENT EISENHOWER IN DELHI

President Eisenhower spent four and half days in Delhi and evoked an overwhelming response of welcome from the populace of all ranks. The warmth of the welcome staggered everybody including Nehru. The Chinese aggression and the American stand against communist aggression everywhere had a great deal to do with the extraordinary welcome. Eisenhower and Herter have been coldly neutral in the matter of the Indian border case. But it is clear that if India fights for her rights and needs arms and help, she will get it from the USA in abundant measure. Panchsheel has failed but military alliance is refused. We are in this twilight condition in 1959.

Indian defence crisis comes at an inopportune time just when the Russians are trying to negotiate a thaw in the cold war. The visit of Vice-President Nixon to Russia and the visit of Kozlov and Mikoyan to the USA and the later visit of Khrushchev to America and Camp David, exchanges between him and Eisenhower and the preparations for the Summit meeting together with Khrushchev's epoch making offer of complete demilitarisation in four stages have all created a tense expectation of world diplomacy making for Peace successfully.

There are signs that Khrushchev is annoyed with China for her "stupid" border attacks on India just at this time.

The continuation of non-alignment by India may help to retain Khrushchev's intervention for a time.

But this will be a short term measure, for in the long run, the socialist camp has to hold together.

Some diplomacy thinkers even speculate that Khrushchev may even welcome American help to contain the Chinese leaders who are outgrowing Russian control. Just as Hitler astonished the West with his No-war Pact with Stalin, Khrushchev may astonish the free world by having an agreement with it to keep China within bounds.

The general conclusion that emerges from a survey of events in the past year just ended is that India has now to make up for the mistakes of her infant policy. She has to develop military strength enormously to fill the Power Vacuum from Aden to Hong Kong.

She must take help from the USA or from both the USA and Russia to equip her military forces to an extent adequate to the formidable task. Otherwise our declaration of defence solidarity with Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan will be empty and ludicrous.

Great obligations stare us in the face. New, more realistic and more resolute leadership is required if India is to rise to the occasion.

## What is Wrong with Planning?

By M. A. Venkata Rao

**T**HE Swatantra Party has expressed itself against the present type of Five Year Plans.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh has been against socialism in general from its very inception in 1950 and against the present type of Five Year Plans as they were promulgated and acted upon later.

These are the only truly opposition parties. The PSP, Lohia Socialist party and the Communist party are all committed to socialism of the Marxian variety and want more of the same and at a greater pace, with the difference that the communist party is indifferent to democracy even in theory.

The rationale of the opposition to the present official policy of Five Year Plans in objectives and

methods of implementation should be clearly stated and publicised by the critics. Ostensibly the expressed goals of rapid industrialisation, stimulating the rate of saving and investment, public leadership in guiding economic growth through investment in government enterprises, achieving a rise in the Standard of living as measured by per capita income and realising a socialist form of society in which there is no exploitation of man by man—have all a popular appeal and seem to be unexceptionable.

But one may concede these goals and yet maintain that there are different ways of realising them, ways less destructive of democratic institutions and spirit, ways less dislocative of normal economic life.

We may concede that a more rapid rate of industrialisation than may be expected by leaving private enterprise to go about it in its own way is desirable and necessary. But it does not follow that it is necessary and desirable to make Government the sole trader, manufacturer, public carrier, insurer, banker, accountant etc. for the purpose.

This is the ideological dogma that animates the Government's plans and policy. While we have the examples of rapid industrialisation and economic recovery through private enterprise regulated by Government without take-over in post-war Germany and Japan, the planners in India have committed themselves to the Soviet type of planning and refuse to consider the democratic alternative though it is pointed out to them.

The central flaw of Marxist socialism is this monopolisation of all economic power and activity which in due course is sure to destroy democracy at its roots. For it sweeps every worker and earner in the country into a condition of utter and helpless economic dependence on the Government. Such dependence cannot sustain self-reliance and independent judgment and activity for long.

The Prime Minister has several times declared that Marxism is out of date and that Marx wrote in the 19th century but that his own planning belongs to the 20th century and is different from Marxist principles. But he is basing his plans entirely on the central principle of Marxist economy namely government monopoly of economic enterprise and power! The Soviets are more perceptive and honest. They know that their system is based on Marxism modified by Lenin and Stalin only in the details of practical realisation such as five year plans.

The phrase socialist pattern of society introduced as the basis of policy in 1954 at Avadi is sometimes taken to refer to the mixed economy supposed to characterise our economic situation as distinguished from full socialism which implies the elimination of the private sector altogether. But the overall goal of policy is stated explicitly in the Planning Commission's reports to be the realisation of socialism. This means that the private sector is there on sufferance to be eliminated gradually as the public sector develops its personnel and experience of management.

The goal of policy and the outcome of the growing aggrandisement of the public sector are therefore Marxist in spirit and letter. The damage to democracy inherent in such goal and policy is undeniable. We may begin with democratic socialism but as the socialism develops, the democratic structure will suffer attribution and will vanish in the end, either painlessly or in a violent catastrophe.

This is the first objection of the democrat to the present socialist goals and plans.

Further drawbacks will show themselves in the matter of ways of implementation inherent in the five year plans.

Our Plans share the pattern of the Soviet economists and dictators.

The outstanding characteristic of the Soviet plans

is their excessive stress on heavy industries which entails an excessive starvation of consumer industries. The standards of living are held down for the purpose of investment in heavy industries primarily with a military motive. Even after 40 years of such planning in Soviet Russia, there is no abundance of food for the masses and the whole population are still suffering from the lack of common consumer necessities and comforts—clothes, shoes, housing, etc. The people are held down to such exasperating levels of living by means of an oppressive police administration and the denial of democratic means of expression of popular feelings and grievances.

The Soviets have sacrificed a whole generation for the sake of realising their goal of military power and maintenance of the dictatorship of their Party.

Students of Russian life and society before the Revolution had noticed a rapid industrialisation in the decades before. Competent economists are of opinion that Russia would have attained the present level of living standards barring the military extravagance by ordinary capitalist methods. Social security and welfare too could have developed *pari passu* as they have done in other European countries in the inter-war years. She would not have developed into a world menace if the normal manner of progress had been resorted without Red Revolution.

There is a certain intriguing factor in giving excessive room for heavy industries in Planning. And that is the grim fact that the proportion of investment in producer's goods which are only means to consumer goods remains unduly high.

It looks as though the economic machine becomes an end in itself, a sort of Frankenstein that devours the people's energies to maintain itself! Life is reduced to the accumulation of machines to make machines with a minimum of goods for direct satisfaction of needs! Or this result may be due to the relentless military goals of the regime aiming at nothing less than world conquest for which it is bending the energies of the whole people for surpassing the free world in productive capacity.

And today after the Chinese aggression, we too have to allot increasing resources to the military factor in spite of our official pacifism. The blind alley situation entailed by the excessive stress on heavy producer goods in the first two plans and in future plans with us too is coming to resemble the classic Russian model. That means that in addition to the hardships of high prices and growing scarcity of consumer goods—e.g. sugar, cloth, etc., we shall have to deny betterment in real terms to the large mass of the common people, reserving special privileges and higher standards to Party men and higher bureaucracy and scientific personnel. This means the drift into more and more of a dictatorship in governance to contain the explosive discontent of the masses.

Together with disproportionate investment in heavy industries, we have in the present type of Soviet plans the feature of abnormally high targets in terms of output—physical planning as it is called.

They fix the output high above normal expectations of possibility in relation to resources capable of being mobilised by all means, normal and abnormal.

This entails a great pressure on consumption by its demand for savings and imposition of higher taxation. It is said in justification of this policy that there is no fixed fund in society ear-marked for saving and investment. The resources for investment are said to be flexible and capable of indefinite expansion if only the right measures of mobilisation are adopted such as squeezing the rich through new forms of taxation like the expenditure and wealth levies and the common man through the profits of government industries. Deficit financing can be added to these in a certain measure larger than customary under capitalism which is thought to be rendered safe by the rapidly increasing production attained by the new forced economy.

But it must be remembered that though resources are indefinite and are capable of being expanded in some measure, they are not limitless. Indefiniteness is not infinity!

The combined effect of the measures needed to finance the artificially inflated targets both in heavy industries and consumer goods is a strain on the economy too great to be borne by a democratic system however popular its leads may be on account of their role in national liberation. The policy of **jam tomorrow** will not remain popular for years—from one five year plan to another.

There is a contradiction in this forced growth between the need to restrict consumption in the interest of saving and investment and the need to raise the level of consumption in order to absorb the goods produced in the internal market, barring military goods. Military goods will remain a dead weight on the economy unable to be paid for by the normal surpluses of a free economy.

The unfortunate Imre Nagy of Hungary realised the tragic short-comings of this type of forced industrialisation introduced by his predecessors in office, Rakosi and his gang. He introduced his ill-fated **New Course** in the Malenkov regime, reducing investment on heavy industries, increasing investment on agriculture and consumer goods and relaxing the emphasis on collective farms, allowing peasants to go back to individual farming. The **New Course** was a great success in the eighteen months in which it was allowed to run unhindered but his rivals sabotaged the innovations and threw Nagy out of office just before the Revolt of 1956.

What India needs today in the Third Plan is a new Course like that of Nagy changing the pattern into one more nearly consonant with common sense and the realities of human nature. But our Policy-maker is led more by outside experts who have taught him their new slogan of **take-off** stage in growth for which greater investment than before is necessary! The consequent impact on high prices, on deficit financing and inflation, restriction of consumer goods, unemployment (since the big factories are not labour intensive), the slow growth of

cottage industries for lack of markets, the artificial hold-back in agriculture and the growing corruption in the administration owing to rising prices—these are ignored by the planners and administrators committed to the Prime Minister's communist methods.

The gravamen of the charge against the present type of planning can be stated in another way and that is that growth in all sectors of the economy and welfare—industry, agriculture and welfare is aimed at **simultaneously**. This goal is unattainable without distorting the economy and leading to extreme strains on living conditions and employment which in the end threaten the democratic structure of the governance.

It is not possible to enrich all classes of the people equally simultaneously. Promises to that effect cannot be fulfilled. Economics concern a realm of affairs in which inexorable laws operate. Any effort to ignore them by strong arm methods will bring catastrophe.

But this whole ordeal is unnecessary. It is not necessary to introduce a **classless society** by **governmentalising** all economic activity for initiating economic growth at a pace faster than that of private enterprise.

What is objectionable is not capitalism in the economic sense but capitalism in the political sense of the productive class having unchecked ultimate governmental power.

If government regulates capitalism as well as labour in the interest of common good, planning for freedom is possible as witnessed in Germany and Japan.

All Planning need not be of this totalitarian pattern. It is possible and necessary to have a different type of stimulating economic growth at a faster pace than can be expected under *laissez faire*.

The excuse that the huge sums necessary for large capital investment such as are needed for heavy industries like steel (exceeding a hundred crores of rupees each) cannot be put up by free enterprise in a backward economy is not valid. If such is the case, the government can initiate such plants with its own capital but can associate itself with as much capital as will emerge if permitted and called upon to venture itself along with government investment. The unit can be formed as a joint stock company instead of the present type of hybrid government corporation and as the venture develops and chances of production become real, further private capital will flow if the government keep their part of the capital open for private subscription or purchase in the open market. Government may retain a certain part of the capital and have a Director on the management all the time to watch the career of the venture. Government funds will thus periodically return to them, which can then be re-invested in other concerns stimulating another part of the economy. Under the present plan, government funds are irretrievably locked up in the enterprise. Under the plan suggested, they will remain

*(Continued on page 10)*

# Spread Hindi--But why Oust English ?

By K. KUMARA SEKHAR

—:o:—

**T**HOUGH we may be considered Anglo-maniacs our experience with the English language makes us plead for a better status for it in the country, than even the role of a *lingua franca* between the Hindi and non-Hindi people, which is only till the latter pick up the national language. English has better served both our national as well as cultural interests than Hindi, and hence our reluctance to attach any fresh national significance to Hindi. We had not much acquaintance with it even during the freedom struggle, and as we could preserve our unity even without its influence in those days of external danger, we are reluctant to attribute to it any special virtues. If English continues, it would be the superior cultural influence that can shake us, from complacency, which is the real danger in every sphere, whether education, science or politics, rather than national disunity. National disunity, if at all it is a possible danger, would appear as part of this general complacency. So we feel that if we disown English now, we would be taking a step backward, and against the progress we have so far made. English has become the backbone of modern India. When we use the word English, while we mainly refer to the language, we have also in mind its influence on the study of science, on industry, on our politics, on the new philipp given to our native culture; it has acted as a sharpener to the material that was already there; the older generation has profited by it, and would, only appear jealous if it did not insist upon this discipline for the younger.

In spite of the immense and acknowledged good it has done to us, if some of us try to get rid of it on grounds of patriotism, then that patriotism is misplaced. In spite of the precious efforts of many of our public men, and debates upon it in parliament, its position is unfortunately still insecure. If Mr. Nehru had some words of praise meanwhile for English, it only seems that he wants to avoid a constitutional guarantee for it, and is also awaiting the growth of Hindi in the south. With the presentation of the report of the language commission and the two-day debate in parliament, the language controversy has again agitated our minds. Mr. Nehru, it seems has used the traditional trick of wise statesmen to concede the points of the opposition, even with a bit of praise, only to put off further debate and action. For the time being, such tact in leadership helps to hush up a controversy and brings credit to the leader, but it must be considered a harmful and ill conceived manoeuvre.

In spite of several assurances from central government leaders, to allay fears of the south, measures for the forcible adoption of Hindi as the recognised languages of the Indian union continue. There are advertisements for government jobs which discriminate against non-Hindi candidates. The Railways and the Postal Department are making unlicensed use of this unintelligible script from the North. Nehru himself till recently spoke in a different attitude, and who knows what the next Prime Minister's attitude would be, to the problem. What if the next man took the constitution literally? Hence it is that only definite safeguards, against the imposition of Hindi in any form, and facilities for the proper development and use of English, should be accepted. So far as the south at least, linguistic progress only lies that way, namely that of mastering the mother-tongue and a world language. One is a necessity, the other would be a talent. On the other hand, the plan for a third language for national purposes has little force, as since our independence, our unity was in no way threatened, and there is one government for the whole country. When there are now the ties of Government between region and region, which were unknown when the Hindi movement started, why now insist on the ties of language, between state and state.

While Nehru agrees that the older generation has a good standing in English, he anticipates that the next generation will not have the same liking for English or opposition for Hindi. The characterisation of the opposition to Hindi, as a disease of the present generation which has been brought upon English, owing to its lack of knowledge of the language, is to evade the standing claims that English has in India for some generations to come. One does not find how or when we shall ever be able to dispense with it. It is our Latin and Greek without which we could not have developed, such an objective and precise fashion of thinking that we have. It may be foreign, it may be difficult to the beginner, but in comparison with the worth and popularity of English in the world, Hindi stands nowhere.

The Prime Minister has at first revealed no understanding of the language question at all. At first he was bold and rough, and uncompromising. It is probable that he thought that he was fighting off certain fissiparous tendencies and anti-national interests. But in his recent speeches, it is clear that he conceives it possible, for a virtuous national-minded man of the south to feel, that Eng-

lish is preferable to Hindi. Still, this only indicates that he is yet one step further from the realization of the truth of the problem. While the retention of English as an "associate" language, or whatever Mr. Nehru might be pleased to call it, might help the southerner to overcome certain disabilities in the competition for central services, his plea is that English should have a permanent place in our curriculum. The value of English being studied for its own sake, is altogether ignored by Nehru. Nobody is prepared to confuse his mind with too many languages; all that one is prepared to learn is the regional language and one more language. For the Hindi men, this other language is English, which everyone values; but the one extra-regional language, the southerner can afford to learn is taken up now by Hindi, which has nothing to commend itself except that it satisfies some of the requisites for a national language, and that too when the case for a national language has nothing to commend itself to us except that it is in accordance with the constitution, and certain inferences made from history. When the case for a national language has become a dull affair, being an arbitrary inference from history, the southerner is inclined to brush up his acquaintance with English, rather than learn the new language Hindi.

English has become the normal language chosen by our writers and scholars, of their own free will. It is not confined to our universities; as our politicians and journalists have been making a thorough use of it, one is surprised how anyone can interrupt such a smooth functioning language. To us, it was an able and modern substitute for Sanskrit, which was the medium of all our higher learning. Today we feel that English is the modern Sanskrit for India, and our universities feel as much perplexed about getting rid of English, as our ancient universities would be, if they were asked to dispense with Sanskrit. So, for Mr. Nehru to speak of English as the inevitable alternative, for those who suffer from the "disability" of not having a knowledge of Hindi, again gives only English a temporary opportunity to function in India, and not a permanent place in her culture. Having cultivated this culture to a good degree, it would be suicidal to abandon it at this stage.

It may be a peculiar way by which we have come across English, forced upon us by an invader, forced on us against our will and wishes, but it seems that it is the only beautiful gift he has left us on his departure; it has seeped into our everyday life, and has become the medium of our thinking, and if the light of reason shines so well in India today, one feels compelled to say that it is due to the study of English. It has become the torch by which we are all led to truth and goodness. If our leaders did not excel in their English, our Independence would not have appeared an achievement, but mere grabbing of power. Our success in the mastery of English, was our real conquest over the foreigner, because we had overcome his one virtue thereby. All this must have

been in the mind of Frank Anthony, when he expressed his intense gratitude to Nehru for putting the problem in right perspective, to the nation, though as an Anglo-Indian, his position in representing the language interests of the south or generally those of non-Hindi speaking peoples is rather delicate.

In the present context of our growth and development it would be far fetched, to dwell too much on the plea for a national language for the country. So long as the country is united no artificial linguistic bond need be created; after all, the Hindi enthusiasts depend on this prevalent sense of unity for the spread of their language; but at the same time they want to make unity appear as a by-product of the cultivation of Hindi. Those who speak Hindi seem to crave to force their mother-tongue and regional language on others in the country, by virtue of the right to do so, conferred upon them by patriots like Gandhi and the powers of the constitution. They seem to be more interested in giving their language a higher position and important status than to show any concern for the problems of the nation. To speak in fear of selfishness, of our national interests, at a time when we have to show our magnanimity to the language that has brought about the general upliftment in the country, is to be base in every manner. To them, culture, the interests of education, world unity, etc. are secondary things. If the case for a national language has been converted from a far-seeing patriotic ideal to a hard hitting dogma, it is they that are responsible. A national language can be evolved gradually, but never forced in a democracy. If Hindi is imposed, it would all the more appear a northern language rather than the national language. The scheme of development of a national language as envisaged in our constitution is hasty, and is indifferent to realities, and other related interests of the language question; even the English, in spite of their imperialistic methods, have been able to derive this small percentage of English knowing Indians, only after nearly a century of effort.

My opinion is, that just as it was felt, to develop Hindi by displacing the regional languages is unjust, it is also arbitrary to secure the growth of Hindi, by ousting English from the place it occupies in our education, national and individual life. Coming as a third language, at this stage of our progress, in addition to English and the regional language, Hindi should have merits of its own, and a national purpose, to commend its intrusion into the sphere of our education: if it has no sufficient merit or purpose, it should withdraw from the field, rather than misappropriate the purposes of another language to acquire an honourable countenance. My question is that if at all Hindi has to grow why should it not grow parallel to English, instead of trying to threaten its existence, usurp its functions and oust it from the country, when it has neither superior worth nor any cause for complaint against English? If it is to acquire the



same popularity as English in the country it should follow in its footsteps.

None would object to the growth of Hindi if it did not try to interfere with the growth of English. The aims and dimensions of our national language should not be in conflict with the international language that we have learnt. If its aims are so ignoble as that, it would not be worthy of its position. The injustice the centre is doing to English, of trying to uproot it from the country, by becoming dogmatic on the national language question, is not obvious to us. Not having been able to promote the growth of Hindi on its own accord, they are trying to achieve it by rousing the hatred of the people towards English. They have been ruthlessly transferring the traditional channels where English so long functioned, to the monopoly of Hindi. As Hindi would not grow on its own, the centre has engaged it in a conflict with English, hoping that in such a battle it would gain a favourable atmosphere, though such conflicts on the relative merits or rights of languages are ridiculous and unwelcome.

In the Pre-independence days it was never

thought that Hindi would question the interests of English, but would replace the regional languages, which are the real cause of the growth of regionalism that leads to disunity. However, the Hindi enthusiasts knew that they would meet with stiff and unyielding resistance, from local interests; so they abruptly decided to encourage the regional languages, bargaining that the position of Hindi was to be respected, in return for this favour; at this, the states have been jealously swift in giving recognition to their languages in their regions, and transferring the regional functions of English to their own languages. The battle that Hindi ought to have fought, with the regional languages, is now directed against English. English has very few defenders in this country, in such a battle, and the Centre is left to its game of arbitrary transfer of the functions of English to Hindi, though it is required that Hindi should be as popular as English in the South for that purpose. Because of its failures with Hindi, the Centre has made English its target of disappointment. This is unjust, and would harm both the languages concerned and the country as well.

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## Enforcement of Fair Competition

By William Paton.

**F**ROM the standpoint of economics, the function of government as the enforcer of competition is of special importance, in all phases of production. While most people have a strong competitive urge in their bones, there is also a marked tendency for the individual to become monopolistically minded with respect to his particular situation, especially after he becomes established and successful. This means that if a condition of vigorous competition is to be maintained, it is necessary to rely upon the machinery of government for enforcement; private agencies can't possibly do the job. Here is a tremendous constructive task for government. Competition is the very lifeblood of private enterprise, the market economy. Prices must be competitive to insure that resources are most effectively employed and that producers are not in a position to exploit consumers. Hence those who are genuine supporters of private enterprise must hold up the hand of government in every sincere intelligent effort to maintain competition. Declining competition means the growth of monopoly and persisting private monopoly is almost certain to lead to government control.

Where monopolistic conditions develop in business there are three possible ways in which the machinery of government may be used to cope with the situation. In the first place an effort may be made to restore and enforce competition. Second, government may regulate the prices of the products of monopolistic undertakings, with a view to securing results such as would be achieved if competitive conditions were in effect. Third, it

may be decided to convert the private monopoly into a governmental activity i.e., a publicly owned business.

The first approach is the appropriate method to adopt, assuming that preservation of a free-enterprise economy is desired. Enforcement of competition is an inherent function of government in such an economy. Monopoly creates the possibility of exploitation of the consumer and hence prevention of this condition falls within the scope of government as a device for the protection of the citizen in his pursuit of happiness. On the other hand, the ownership of economic resources and the management of economic activities are not inherently within the provision of the policeman. We engage him to protect us in our property rights and in our producing and consuming operations: we do not want him to take over and reduce us to the status of his employees, dependents or slaves. It follows that the third use of government listed of above is to be avoided, if we have any desire to retain our liberties.

Regarding the third methods, i.e., "regulation", it is a step in the direction of governmental management and complete control is synonymous in effect with governmental ownership and operation. In theory the use of government to fix the prices charged by monopolistic producers in lieu of enforcing competition is not untenable. But experience in regulating the prices of railway transportation and other public utility products clearly shows that computing competitive prices, hypothetically, in lieu of having it determined by the interplay of

actual market forces is a very difficult task. There is also the fact that regulation of prices in practice has been an expensive process, characterised by bureaucratic inefficiency and delays, and regulation has not been successful. The regulatory process has so far done nothing better than limp along and the history of the movement affords no evidence that governmental regulation is a good substitute for a competitive market. There is no possibility of regulating prices in certain areas with the object of producing results such as would be obtained from healthy competition, unless there is a broad free market, genuinely competitive which affords a sound yardstick. If all prices were regulated or interfered with seriously, there would be no proper market standard available as a basis for comparison. Government controlled activities don't yield a suitable yardstick for private business enterprise; it is the other way around.

Those who look to government for everything—from the construction of hospitals to constructing a nuclear power plant—will do well to remember that government is not a mysterious being possessed of supernatural powers. A governmental entity or agency is simply an organisation of human beings trying to carry on some assigned activity. These human beings have no greater executive ability, engineering skill and so on merely as a result of working in a government group. There is always a need for controlling government and for keeping governmental activity within narrow boundaries. One of the legitimate activities that government should indulge in is the enforcement of fair and free competition and every one interested in the preservation of justice and liberty should assist the government in this task.

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fluid and will stimulate economic effort several times over with a 'multiplier effect.'

This will also keep the economy on a normal basis. Its several cooperative factors such as the stock exchange, money market, savings and banking institutions, the investing public etc. will all function in a normal way led by rational calculations of prospects. The carrot will prevail over the stick which is healthier than the outcome of increasing government domination killing private initiative.

Another difficulty in monopoly government provision of the economic needs of the entire community is that of calculation of costs and profits or margins. Since all prices are fixed by government and physical targets are fixed arbitrarily, there is no knowing how much will be absorbed by the public and the planned units at different prices. There will be an enormous waste at every level and link of the economy.

Steel plants may rise rapidly under government economy but the vastly greater achievement that would have resulted if private enterprise had been encouraged over a period of time becomes invisible to the ordinary eye or even government experts and politicians. The faculty suppressed will be greater than the faculty released all along the line. Economists should learn to calculate this aspect of the inevitable wastes involved in government economy.

Further, production through government bureaucracy will introduce rigidities on account of red tape inseparable from its functioning. It is better to stimulate than to supplant.

## Labour Is Not the Sole Source of Wealth

By Albert Morgan

**I**F Wealth is that which satisfies some human want or desire, it pre-supposes desire both mental and physical as a first or primary condition. To satisfy desire involves some action or effort which we call labour.

It is clear at once that labour is only a part and not the whole consideration. Wealth involves the idea of value. Nothing is valuable if it is not desired. Therefore values are mental. Value does not stop when a thing is undesirable; there is such a thing as inverse values. It may be so objectionable that we would pay to remove it. We have plus and minus values, i.e., wealth and waste. We might give the value of a quart of milk to remove a bin full of refuse. What is waste to one man is wealth to another. Wherein does the difference lie, if it is not in the minds of the two men? This is regardless of the labour embodied. Labour or effort is not only a part of wealth but also of waste, but the primary consideration is the mental one in both cases. No human labour may be involved in the production of edible fruit or animal food on an un-inhabited island, yet on the arrival of man with-

out food they would become valuable without having labour used on them. It might be said that mental labour is involved, but with this I cannot agree, although in a finer sense it appears true as a part of labour. A man may have to make a mental or systematic effort to think out some means of catching animal food and the like, but that again is preceded by the recognition that food is there or available.

If we apply this to a free nation we can see that natural resources are wealth before labour is applied to them.

It is natural that we should exchange our superabundance to make up lack of resources in other directions, and would consider how much labour it would cost to move it, but again it is only part of the truth, as the mental factor comes in again. The seller proposes and the buyer disposes. He may prefer oil to our coal and we must forego the wealth we need from him or offer him something else.

One nation might employ less physical labour and more machinery and it might be truly said that it is still labour but of a mental character embodied

# The Indian Libertarian

## *Economic Supplement*

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### Planning And Capitalism

By Prof. G. N. Lawande, M.A.

**I**N order to achieve rapid economic development of our country our leaders have adopted planning and according to our Prime Minister it is the only way to achieve prosperity and it is the horoscope of 40 million of our people. Planning is nothing but adjusting means to ends and this is not peculiar to socialism. Even in capitalism there is a planning. An individual who does not merely think of momentary gains or wants but thinks of tomorrow as well as of today must subordinate his impulses to some kind of order. He must choose between this and that, greater and smaller satisfaction and between the nearer and more remote in time. Planning and rational action are identical and without some sort of rationality neither the individuals nor communities can persist. Planning is not only a means to an end; it also involves conscious choice of ends and the problems which it involves relate both to the ends it is proposed to achieve and the means by which they are to be reached. The essence of planning lies in the fact that it involves a plan and a plan involves order, power, subordination and interference. It appeals to those who wish to wield power over others and for this reason they find in the existing order chaos, anarchy, licence, because it is only by these means they can fool the people by putting dust into their eyes. All planners pose themselves as public spirited individuals in contrast to the self-seekers in capitalist system; but really speaking all planners are not insensible to the private advantage and these people are chosen to lead us to the Promised Land of Prosperity. Planning affords to some people an opportunity to exercise power and they desire a change in the present economic system which enabled the countries to achieve tremendous progress in the past.

Capitalism embodies an order but does not conform to a conscious plan. Economic system under capitalism is planless in the sense that there is not one single determinable end to which the arrangements of the economic order are subordinated. It does not follow from this that it is irrational and chaotic, the two charges usually brought against it by the supporters of the planned economy. It neither prevents forethought nor adjustments of specific means to specific ends. The so-called irrationality of capitalism is mainly due to the freedom of choice which is given to the consumer and producer; the wants of the consumer change from time to time and as production is based in anticipation of de-

mand, investment must also be changed. In some cases the past investment will be abortive; in other cases it will not be able to satisfy the wants of the people fully. Under capitalism the satisfaction of demand is left to the competitive efforts of the producers some of which are more efficient than others; at the same time the technique of production is also undergoing a change. The producers will substitute new technique provided it will result in some more gain. It is the competition of product with product and process with process that constitutes an economic chaos which the supporters of planned economy complain. If it is true that under alternative system of organising production the same rapidity of change in the process and the same freedom of choice to the consumer will be present as under capitalism, it is certain that any such alternative system will exhibit the same characteristics of mistaken judgment occasionally causing waste of resources and of alternative methods of production resulting in a conflict between producing authorities and organization. Either there is freedom of choice or regimentation of the consumer; freedom to make the most economic method as judged from the point of profit and loss or there is authoritative regulation of the method of production. Each of these alternatives excludes the other. To have both planning and freedom, regulation and perfect elasticity of organisation and technique is an impossibility.

Planned economy is a tragedy. It is a tragedy because it is utterly unable to fulfil the expectations of those who bring it about. Planned economy inflicts pain and agony and distress upon classes and individuals but it hardly realises the positive ends for which it is called into existence. It involves the rejection of all other alternatives except the one which is adopted. A planned society which plans for change is a contradiction in terms.

Either the plan is sound or it is unsound; either it admits alteration or it does not. If it does not allow for the improvements in technique or change in demand variations and composition of the population it suffers from its inherent weakness. If it allows for such changes, then it is not a plan at all. Planned society is only possible on condition that one assumes static conditions of production either because changes are not permitted or because changes do not take place on other grounds.

Planned economy is based on force because acts inconsistent with the furtherance of the plan which underlies the economic activity of the community

may be restrained and to restrain is to use force. In capitalism there also involves force. But in such a system based on free enterprise and private rights of property no specific end or determined single end is set before the members of the community, the area in which the force is used is greatly diminished. The fact that planning involves force and repression increases chances that economic change will be slower in the future in proportion to the area of the activity comprehended with the plan; if innovation is to be treated as a crime, the desire to experiment and innovate must necessarily diminish. A plan is likely to succeed most easily if conditions are static and the simplest way of securing that conditions are static, is forcibly to prevent them from anything else. A planned society according to Prof. Mises deprives itself of all those guides to rational conduct upon which the progress of economic life in the last two centuries has depended. As the planned society eliminates market and price system it has to use other guiding principles by means of which it can direct the use of the factors of production.

All production involves some degree of foresight because production takes place in anticipation of demand. In order to avoid the waste of capital, labour and natural resources, what is necessary is to know what demand will be in future and that is only possible if demand can be controlled and if supply can be controlled. Planning in the real sense of the term means interference with the factors of production and interference with the consumers' right to buy what he likes and in the quantities that he desires. For this reason planning is possible in a communistic, non-democratic society. Planning and democracy are incompatible. A central authority can solve the problem of planning if it can decide what shall be produced and in what qualities and quantities and take effective steps that the consumers get nothing else. As soon as the consumer is allowed the freedom to pick and choose, then there will be too much or too little of the output in the market. The freedom of the market which is the main characteristic of capitalism must be sacrificed if planning is to become a success. Not only this, but competing products and alternative sources of supply must also be interfered with. That is why in Russia, foreign trade is under state control destroying private enterprise and controlling the consumer.

It is said that the basis of capitalism is the profit motive but the realization of a profit is a proof that profit maker has successfully complied with the rules of the game, but it is not a game itself. The business firm which fails to make profit is eliminated from the economic system. Capitalism does not exist primarily to yield profits as cricket does not exist for the particular method of scoring by which successful players are distinguished from the unsuccessful ones. Just as all players must submit to the rules of the game, in the same way producers must submit to the rules of production; otherwise they will be automatically

eliminated. Those who make profits may desire wealth for various reasons; for its own sake; for the sake of doing good to others; for the sake of power or influence or merely as evidence of success. The essence of capitalism lies in the subordination of direction which productive efforts take to the influence of consumers demand as expressed through an organically related system of market prices and in the willingness on the part of the owners of the productive equipment to venture their property in the expectation that if they are successful they will make profit. The essential nature of capitalism does not lie in the mere existence of private property or of the division of labour, not even the presence of competition but the essential characteristic is the presence of free market and to the subordination to the demands of that market of the entire productive mechanism. This market is an international one and through that every kind of product is brought into competitive and complimentary relation with every kind of product. The value of products in the market determines the capital value of the existing stock of producers' goods as well as the price of labour and the auxiliary services which have helped to produce them. Through the mechanism of prices, producers draw their incomes. But since the magnitude of this income is affected by the relative price changes as between one commodity and another as well as by the absolute price changes as between one commodity and another as well as by absolute price changes as between two different points of time in regard to the same product, fluctuations in prices determine not only the current trend of production but also who shall produce and what shall be produced and by whom in the future. To the market mechanism as long as it exists, the strongest and the weakest producer alike must ultimately submit.

The present weakness of capitalism is due to a number of factors. If these imperfections were removed, it is possible to enable capitalism to work more efficiently than planned economics. Due to monopolistic and quasi-monopolistic bodies, both of employers and employed, the capitalist system has become more rigid with the result, that much longer time elapses before a change in the market conditions reacts on the productive mechanism in the appropriate fashion. These monopolistic bodies maintain prices for their particular products out of line with the general direction of price movements. The consequences are lack of employment for both labour and capital; overproduction in one part of the field and underconsumption in the other. The other and more serious factor is the monetary and banking mechanism. Under the inconvertible paper standard it is possible for the monetary authorities to expand currency with the result that inflation is set in. As a result of this, prices tend to rise and more and more controls are imposed on the economic activities of the people. Rents are kept low and at the same time complaints are made that

*(Continued on page IV)*

# "The Single Tax" System Of Henry George

By D. M. K.

**T**HE ideals of individual Liberty and Freedom, long cherished by mankind, are being constantly challenged today by the Communist totalitarianism. All freedom-loving people of the world are therefore greatly exercised over finding out the best means and ways of combating this menace to modern civilisation. The great American Economist and thinker, Henry George, (1839-1897) was one of those great minds that applied themselves to this serious problem. The remedy that he suggested in his epoch-making book "PROGRESS & POVERTY (1879)" has come to be known as 'Single Tax' and his followers now call themselves 'Single Taxers'.

## IN TUNE WITH THE MORAL LAW

It is generally agreed that communism and its mild variety socialism, thrive well in a society in which extreme poverty of the many, prevails side by side with the great affluence of the few. So all leading democratic countries of the world have evolved elaborate and complicated systems of taxing the rich heavily for the benefit of the poor. But this method, as experience has shown, has its own serious defects. The special tax on the rich, can be evaded in more ways than one, or a large portion of it can be passed on to the poor consumers, who are made to pay higher prices of goods they purchase in the market. The worst part of it is, that it dries up the springs of industry and enterprise. Henry George, therefore, did not favour it. After mature thought and study, his acute mind lighted upon an effective method of taxation which would at once remove the appalling poverty of the workers, without obstructing the smooth turning of the wheels of modern industry and also would supply the modern governments with necessary funds to discharge their public functions. The reform that he proposed was "to appropriate rent by taxation and to abolish all taxation save that upon rental values". ("PROGRESS & POVERTY", Book V, Chapter II).

In this reform, Henry George saw perfect harmony between the moral law and the economic law. The amazing phenomenon of persistence of poverty in the midst of plenty, resulting from modern industry, led him to infer that "in the social organisation, moral law has been defied and the natural rights of man have been ignored." (H. George—'Social Problems' Chapter—'Rights of Man'). In this view, social institutions in order to have a healthy growth, must conform to the great absolute moral laws. He implicitly believed in the inalienable human rights of "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness", as set forth in the American Declaration of Independence, and heartily agreed with the diagnosis of social evils made in the Declaration of Rights of the French National Assembly (1789), that "ignorance, neglect or Contempt of

Human Rights are the sole causes of public misfortunes and corruptions of Government." He held that these equal rights of all to life and liberty were flagrantly violated by denying to man the right to the free and equal use of land which was as much of nature's bounty as sunshine and air. A few land-owners monopolised all land and unjustly took rent from the tenants for its use and thus deprived the producers of their full share in the produce of their labour. This rent was a social value attached to the land, created by the presence of the community and its social and economic activities. Rents rose high with the growth of the population. Therefore, this social value should properly go to the community and the State would be perfectly justified in assessing a tax on land, equal to its annual rental value, and using it for the benefit of the community. Thus alone would the equal rights of the people to the equal use of the land basically essential for 'the pursuit of life and happiness,' be fully assured and protected. This rent, according to this theory, did not include consideration paid by the people to owners for the use of the buildings, industrial structures raised and other improvements made by the owners on the land with their capital and labour. So improvements and such other forms of wealth were to be exempted from taxation, since they constituted the private property of the individuals in the real sense of the term, on which the State could lay no claim. This 'Single Tax' was to be assessed on all lands whether used or kept out of use by landowners, out of speculative considerations, since what was to be taxed really, was not merely the actual rent yielded by the land but also the potential rental value of every land in use or out of use.

## THE BENEFITS OF "SINGLE TAX"

The immediate beneficial effect of this tax would be to reduce the sale prices of land to nominal ones. Landowners would no longer find it profitable to keep for themselves idle lands, since they would have to pay taxes for them equally with the rest. So lands would be available to the farmers and industrialists on easy terms. New industries would spring up; production would rise to great heights and wealth would increase by leaps and bounds. The element of rent, having been largely eliminated from the prices of commodities, the cost of living would go down considerably. Workers would be in a position to employ themselves on easily accessible lands. They would no more be compelled to sell their labour for a minimum wage. Hence competition would not be one-sided among the labourers only, but employers also would be competing with one another for getting good and efficient labour. This would tend to increase workers' wages bring about a fair distribution of wealth, and normalise the relations between capital and labour. Consequently, the intervention in such

matters, of the Trade Unions which Henry George called "Trade Trusts" would become outmoded and unnecessary. Industrial prosperity, thus induced in a natural way, would stop the periodic paroxysms of booms and slums overtaking trade and industry. Industrial stability and full employment at home, would pave the way for international free-trade and consequently for international peace, amity and goodwill. Moreover, Georgians claim that this "Single Tax", if properly assessed on land-values or annual rentals, would provide ample funds even to modern governments for carrying out their manifold duties.

### HIS CONFESSION OF FAITH

After the publication of "PROGRESS & POVERTY" Henry George came in for a good deal of criticism at the hands of Herbert Spencer and others, that he was no better than a Communist, out for nationalisation of land. In a spirited rejoinder to such criticism, Henry George succinctly and precisely made his confession of faith in the following words:

"I have never been a land nationalist. I have never advocated taking of land by the State or the holding of the land by the State, further than needed for public use. From my first word on the subject I have advocated what has come to be widely known as the 'Single Tax' i.e. raising of public revenues by taxation which, as far as possible, and as far as practicable, should be made to absorb economic rent and take the place of all other taxes. ... I have been an active, consistent and absolute free-trader and an opponent of all schemes that would limit the freedom of the individual—I have opposed every proposition to help the poor at the expense of the rich. I always insisted that no man should be taxed because of his wealth and that no matter how many millions a man might rightfully get, society should leave him every penny of them." (Henry George in "THE PERPLEXED PHILOSOPHER" Page 66).

He did not detest capital. It was to him the 'hand-maid' of labour. He did not set a ceiling on wealth as our Indian Government and our socialist

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private enterprise is not coming forward to solve the housing problem.

At present we are on the march of developing our economy and the only effective way by which we can achieve the result without much pain and suffering is by adopting the free economy where the State can play the role of a guide to help the participants in the game. It is the market economy that helped Germany to achieve a miracle. Under free economy, prices are determined by the laws of demand and supply, but under planning they are arbitrarily fixed by the Planning authority. As there is absence of competition in planned economies, economic calculation is not possible and this truth has been analysed by Prof. Mises and Hayek. According to the latter it is a road to serfdom and that is what we see at present in our country.

friends are seeking to do. In fact, he denounced communism as "robbery that would bring destruction."

Nor did he base his system on charity or "Dan" as we call it in India. This reform rested solely on human rights and moral justice. He was not opposed to the accumulation of riches. He wrote "I would not have it dinned into his (rich man's) ears that it is his duty to help the poor. What he does with his wealth is his own business." ('Social Problems'). Our 'Bhoodan' and 'trusteeship' faddists, who are never tired of sermonising to the rich and the well-to-do that they should hold their wealth and property in trust for the poor, may well ponder over these wise words of a great economist, moralist and humanitarian.

His means of achieving the ends were legislation, persuasion and education of public opinion and appealing to the sense of duty which was "more potent for social improvement than the idea of self-interest; that in sympathy is a stronger social force than in selfishness." Therefore the communist methods of appealing to the narrow and selfish class-interests and of violent class-conflict had no use for him.

### THE GREAT LAW OF PROGRESS

A close study of ancient civilisations of Rome and other countries enabled him to discover the important law of progress which he expressed in the telling phrase "Association in Equality". It meant humanity progressed through mutual association among men and this association could be effective only among equals. Inequality bred fruitless struggles and conflicts and frittered away the creative energies of people needed for the building of a healthy society. This law, he held, explained the growth and decay of all civilisations, ancient and modern, "all diversities, all advances, all halts and retrogressions." ("PROGRESS & POVERTY" Book VII Chapter III).

### RADICAL CURE FOR A DEEP-SEATED MALADY.

Georgians look upon 'Single Tax' Reform as the most natural and radical cure for the disease of the poverty of the masses. Communist remedies, in their opinion, are at most palliatives and may in the end, do more harm than good. This reform movement is gaining in influence in all industrialised democratic countries of the world like America, Australia, Denmark, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa, specially in consequence of the ever increasing burden of taxation on the people in the aftermath of the Second Great War. There are, according to 'Encyclopædia America,' a million 'Single Taxers' throughout the world today.

India, too with her traditional respect for "Dharma" that is to say the Moral Law, which is also the central core of Henry George's teachings, will find in the "Single Tax" much that is useful and instructive in her present endeavour to end poverty and to catch up industrially and materially with the progressive nations of the world.

in the machine. To leave it at this is not satisfactory. Who conceived the idea of the machine? Did the inventor labour to produce it? Now it is a well known fact that basic ideas are conceived by people who are not necessarily seeking them.

It is that moment's insight that is worth a lifetime's experience or an eternity of hard labour: it comes without mental or physical effort; it is an inspiration. Outsiders often see most of the game. The man who conceives an idea is helpless unless mental effort is applied to evolve or develop it, and even that result is useless unless it is put into execution by practical applied physical labour. Wealth is produced by three things:

The Idea.....Inventor or Director  
The Plan.....Draughtsman or Management  
The Execution.....Worker or Labourer.

It is a startling thing to realise that our ideas or values are strangely inversed, i.e., the most necessary things cost the least, air, water, etc.

Articles of virtue, pictures, etc.; are not proportional to the labour embodied as the value is in the eyes of the onlooker. Wealth might be said to be matter in the right place, but what of the ideas? Take Daylight Saving; it involves no labour, it is not even a thing, but wealth gained or saved by its application and use is incalculable.

The same can be said of national policy. The snail in the right direction will beat a racehorse going on a wrong track. A man may be wealthy on a small income and another poor on a large one. We are where we are because of what we are, for if we knew better we should do better.

## DELHI LETTER

# All Our Eggs in the Russian Basket?

(From Our Correspondent)

**I**N a fairly long communication, China has again controverted all the facts and arguments advanced by India concerning the boundary dispute and re-iterated her claim to 53,000 square miles of Indian territory in the western, middle and eastern sectors. There is considerable insistence in the communication that the time has come for the two Prime Ministers to meet and trash out the principles on which the boundary line is to be demarcated. The tone of the communication is more polite than it was in previous Chinese notes, as a result, presumably of the Indian Prime Minister putting China in the wrong in regard to the language used by the Chinese Prime Minister. The Note promises that "at no time in future will China become a threat to its neighbouring countries." But the reference to the future is by no means an admission of past aggression, which still continues. For, the Note claims that "in the ten years since liberation, Chinese military and administrative personnel have been under orders not to go beyond the areas which have always been under Chinese jurisdiction

Labour is not the sole source of wealth, and definitely can only produce wealth when applied intelligently in the proper or right direction, i.e.

LABOUR

INTELLIGENCE

DIRECTION

The process is invariably applied in the reverse:  
Recognition or Conception of Idea.  
Consideration, Thinking and Planning.  
Action. Execution or Physical Labour.

This new concept of ideas as a source of wealth and of labour without thought as waste, leads to the discovery of the principle so fundamentally important that the nearer we get to the source of error the greater will be the gain, with diminishing or even no effort.

Right thinking involves less strenuousness and not more labour, and means more prosperity with less effort.

In considering the relative importance of Labour, Intelligence, and Direction, one can only stress the paramount importance of a sense of Direction or Policy. It is better to have bad planning and execution and the right policy or direction, then to have good planning and execution, with a wrong policy or direction.

With one there may be slow progress, but with the other there will be none.

Solve the problem of knowing what we want or wanting the right thing, and you solve everything. Right action must follow.

and even not to cross the so-called McMahon Line in the eastern sector".

This "always" above does not seem to include the hundred years of British rule, assuming that the Chinese military and administrative personnel have not been disobeying their Government's order, of which there is no indication whatsoever. This is further proved by the assertion in the Chinese note that "the eastern and western sectors of this boundary line (marked on Indian maps) it can in particular be seen beyond any shadow of doubt, are the product of the British policy of aggression and expansion in modern history." It may be recalled here that it was the Kashmir Maharaja who annexed Ladakh and the British had nothing to do with it. In any case what the Chinese Government is now attempting to do is to ignore the history of the past hundred years altogether and start on that basis and begin the proposed negotiations with the fact recognised by both parties of the boundary line being "along the true traditional boundary at the southern foot of the Himalayas". This, of

course, is something to which no Indian Prime Minister can agree, negotiations or no negotiations.

### WHAT IS THE STATUS QUO?

This insistence on ignoring the history of the past hundred years has a very material bearing on the issue, for the Chinese Note proceeds to say that "it is a principle agreed upon by both sides that pending an over-all settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question, the status quo of the border should be maintained". What is the status quo? That is the chief point at issue. The status quo, obviously is what it was before the Chinese aggression began. No country can send its troops across the border and occupy thousands of square miles of another country and then claim that negotiations can now proceed on the status quo, with those thousands of square miles of another country included in the territory of the aggressor. "The Chinese Government," the note says, "has fully abided by this principle" of the status quo being maintained. It may well be asked: Since when?

The Chinese Note maintains that "there should no longer be any difference of opinion about the most basic fact known to the whole world, that is, the entire boundary between the two countries has indeed never been delimited and is therefore yet to be settled through negotiations." The McMahon Line, according to the Chinese Government, is therefore a figment of the imagination. The Chinese Note proceeds to say that "once agreement is reached on this point, it could be said that the way has been opened to the settlement of the boundary question." But, obviously, before the way is fully open, the history of the past hundred years will have to be ignored altogether by India, and the negotiations will have to start from a position most favourable to the Chinese.

The withdrawal of the armed forces of the two sides for about twenty kilometres along the border will lay the eastern sector open to aggression, for it was the absence of Indian troops along the Ladakh border that made it easy for the Chinese to occupy 10,000 square miles of our territory surreptitiously. The Indian Prime Minister has characterised that action as a "breach of trust" and India will be inviting another breach of trust if she agrees to withdraw her troops on the eastern sector, a distance of twenty kilometres or so. Our continuous silence for five years on the Ladakh aggression has already made our case weak in regard to that sector; and it is to be hoped that our Prime Minister will not agree to any proposal which may result in another breach of trust and the occupation of the passage to India by Chinese troops, having regard, in particular, to the fact that he does not seem to think that India is in a position to throw out the Chinese without starting a prolonged war. A deadlock is preferable to a situation in which the Chinese may, by another treacherous attack, occupy strategic areas. The "failure" of the proposed negotiations may give the Chinese the excuse to advance on the areas in the eastern sector unoccupied by our troops or vacated by them in accordance with the Chinese

proposal. We cannot be too wary in dealing with the Chinese, who are obviously not committed to indefinite negotiations or negotiations to the bitter end. Let us hope the bitter end the Prime Minister had in mind when he used that phrase has no resemblance to surrender!

### RUSSIAN PREMIER'S VISIT

The Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Khrushchev, is to visit India sometime in February soon after the high-power delegation led by the Russian President, Mr. Voroshilov, has left India after a stay here of sixteen days. Although the "Statesman" in a lead story gives the almost ironical headline "China May Also Be Discussed," it is obvious that the boundary dispute with China will form the main topic of discussion between the two Prime Ministers. If a peaceful settlement of the dispute can be reached, it can only be reached through the good offices of the Russian Premier. All indications at present point to the fact that all our Sino-Indian eggs are in the Russian basket. Mr. Nehru has made that amply clear by complimentary references to Mr. Khrushchev during the Sino-Indian debates in Parliament, by emphasising the fiction that the Chinese aggression has nothing to do with the Chinese aggression on our northern border and by continuing his condemnation of the cold war which has resulted in putting to an end not only aggression but also threats of aggression in Eastern Europe. Our Prime Minister has a fantastic imagination which sweeps aside facts of current history as easily as those of the past. He can do so with impunity because he knows that foreign affairs are regarded even among the educated in the country as something quite mysterious and absolutely outside the ken and understanding of educated men. The ignorance of the people is in fact the chief asset of Prime Minister Nehru as it was of his master Gandhi, and ignorance breeds fear as well as hero-worship, both of which we have in abundance in the country.

In any case let us hope that the weekly parcel of mangoes which our Prime Minister sends to Mr. Khrushchev have not been entirely wasted and that they will bear fruit in the talks that Mr. Nehru will have Mr. Khrushchev. Let us hope also that in the end we shall not find that Ladakh has been bartered away for a place in the Summit for Mr. Nehru. It is being feared here that the spirit of accommodation that Mr. Nehru displays in his talks with Mr. Khrushchev in regard to China will show the suitability of Mr. Nehru for a place in the Summit Conference. Mr. Khrushchev is hardly likely to disagree with Mr. Nehru's claim that it is his Panch Sheel and all that goes with it—including perhaps Ladakh—that is responsible for the climate of peace in Europe and not the western powers' threat that force will be met by force and there will be no negotiations of any kind so long as threats of use of force are held out—as the guilty man in that respect was Mr. Khrushchev himself.

### K. I. SINGH'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST INDIA

At a Press Conference at Lucknow in the last



week of December, Mr. K. I. Singh, the Nepalese leader, who fled to China after an unsuccessful revolt, frankly admitted that he was conducting a campaign against the Indian Government in his country. Insisting that much of Nepali public opinion was anti-Indian, he referred to the need of politicians to be on the right side of public opinion. His reasons for carrying on a propaganda campaign against India are so fantastic that one has to look somewhere else for the cause. He was allowed to return to Nepal by the Chinese Government after considerable brain-washing. The Gandak and Kosi Projects agreements signed with India, he said, would place large areas of Nepali territory under virtual Indian control and India might secretly exploit the mineral resources there! He went so far as to refer to these agreements as "encroachments". However, he made up for his suspicious imagination by declaring that he was prepared to sacrifice his life at any time for the sake of the Indian people. As that is much more than those who signed the agreements with India are prepared to do, he should have little cause for complaint against them. Indeed, if his personal offer to sacrifice his life for India has any sense and any virtue in it, he should be commending his example to his fellow-countrymen. But unfortunately he, on his own showing, is doing just the opposite!

#### ANTI-CORRUPTION CAMPAIGN

Mr. Feroz Gandhi has taken up the cudgels on behalf of the critics of the Punjab Government. Being the son-in-law of the Prime Minister, he enjoys a privileged position and need not feel so afraid of criticising Mr. Nehru's favourites. Cynics may say that he has to make a name for himself after being a silent member of Parliament for years, but the fact remains that his anti-corruption stand goes to his credit, the more so as he manages to secure information which is denied to less highly placed individuals. He has now come out with a statement accusing the Punjab Government of "distortion of the grossest variety" in presenting facts about crime in the state.

His charge is that in the comparative statement of crime in Punjab placed before the Congress Working Committee only such figures were given as showed a downward trend, whereas figures relating to the category of crime "Others" were withheld. (Reported crime in this category relates to

smuggling, abductions, kidnapping, currency and bank notes, cheating and coins, the figure of which is more than double those falling under all the other categories combined). "What explanation is there," he asks dramatically, "when a person with six previous convictions to his credit and accused under the Opium Act and of possession of unlicensed firearms had the daring to appear before a court and file an affidavit to the effect that the Chief Minister had directed the withdrawal of the case pending against him and that the order would reach the court from the Home Secretary?" The order marked 'immediate' arrived in due course. "What semblance of law and order can there be in a state," he asks again, "when such is the conduct of a person whom destiny"—in the shape of his father-in-law—"has placed in the position of enforcing the laws of the state."

No wonder the Punjab Government fought shy of facing the legislature and hurriedly adjourned the session. It will be recalled that Prime Minister Nehru had come to the aid of Mr. Pratap Singh Kairon by publicly asserting that he has received complaints about police "zulum" in Punjab and had asked Mr. Kairon to look into the matter. That was with reference to the court's strictures in the case against some police officers. Perhaps Mr. Kairon is being given a long rope because he has to fight the Gurudwara elections against Master Tara Singh. At least that is the general opinion here. That comes to pitching corruption against fanatical communism. The Congress Working Committee was sometime ago discussing the feasibility of appointing a high-power commission to deal with corruption among ministers, while Mr. Kairon himself last year threatened to appoint a high-power commission to deal with corruption in the state. But it is being asked, where would Congress be if all these threats of appointing high-power commissions are implemented? How many ministers or chief ministers would survive the ordeal? Mr. Nehru has a way of dismissing complaints regarding corruption by lamenting the poverty of the material available in the country. Instead of the country, he should really complain against the poverty of the material available among his flatterers and hangers-on. To expect character among such people is to try to discover gold in the gutter.

## Book Reviews

### Dr. N. B. Khare's Memoirs

A Review by M. N. Tholal

IT is rarely, indeed, that one comes across a book dealing with Indian politics in which the author is not afraid to call a spade a spade and is frank and forthright in the treatment of the subjects dealt with. Books dealing with Gandhi, in particular, are generally lacking in that refreshing candour which alone makes a book worth reading. Most of them, indeed, are so full of untruth that one acquainted with Indian politics since 1920 is apt to

turn away from them in disgust. This is the third book that has impressed me—in forty years—for its straightforward handling of matters dealt within it, the other two being "Gandhi As I Know Him" by Indulal Yagnik and "League of Youth" by S. Ramanathan.

For the hypocrisy that has surrounded the subject of Gandhi (and surrounds that of Nehru now) I have been able to discover only two reasons. One

is external, the other internal. Gandhi has become invested with such a halo and people throughout the world have come to cultivate such a reverence for him that to expose him seems unpatriotic, inasmuch as the exposure turns to rob the country of the moral stature accruing to it as the producer of another Buddha. The other reason is pretty well-known. To expose or criticise Gandhi is to invite the wrath of all Congressmen, who see their own fall in the falling esteem of Gandhi, as well as of those—and the number of this other section of hypocrites is even greater—who make up for their lack of morals by a show of the highest regard for Gandhi which, they think, proves their own high moral stature. It requires, therefore, courage of a very high order to write the truth about Mahatma Gandhi. It is obvious from a perusal of "Dr. N. B. Khare's Memorirs or Autobiography" (published by J. R. Joshi, Buty Wada, Sitabuldi, Nagpur 1; pages 640; price Rs. 20) that the author possesses that courage in abundance. It is this rare characteristic of the author that makes the book so well worth reading.

### FEAR OF GANDHI

For me personally it is a great pleasure to have this opportunity of reviewing Dr. Khare's Memoirs, for I owe Dr. Khare an apology for an attack on him in verse in my column in the *National Herald* nearly 22 years ago, which I came to realise soon after was absolutely unwarranted. (It related to the episode which ended in his relinquishing the Chief Ministership of C.P.) During the last twenty years I have often thought of making some recompense for the wrong I did him then, through a letter of apology, but have desisted from writing it as a private apology, for a public attack is no recompense at all. It may well be that in the near future I shall be able to make fuller atonement for that wrong.

That Dr. Khare had to leave the Congress was not a matter of surprise to those who were aware of the goings-on behind the scenes in the greatest political organisation in the land. After the death of Motilal Nehru, of whom Gandhi was terribly afraid, the Mahatma started appearing in his true colours and made a bold bid for dictatorship which was not possible in the time of C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru. From 1934 onwards it was not reason that prevailed in the Congress but fear of Gandhi in ever increasing measure. What else can be said to be responsible for Jawaharlal Nehru always voting for Gandhi and almost always condemning Gandhism—the Gandhism that Gandhi preached? And it was this persistence in always voting for Gandhi and against his moral spiritual self that at last won for Nehru the Prime Ministership of the country. Rajaji, it may be recalled here, had the courage to differ from Gandhi publicly in 1942 over the quit India movement, and Sardar Patel was too strong a man for Gandhi's liking. Fear of Gandhi gradually became the greatest asset of Congressmen, just as fear of Nehru is the greatest asset of Congressmen, today. Without that, one could not be a true

Congressman, certainly not a Congress leader. In other words, Gandhi was responsible for making cowards of us all to an extent our British rulers were unable to reach. In the Gandhian era, generally speaking, the greater the coward the greater the leader. The same holds true of the Nehru era that began on the death of Sardar Patel. Before that the following lines—my own—aptly described the situation:

I am the power in the land,

Said Nehru to his friends,

With my permission, said Patel,

So far as it extends!

Dr. Khare in his memoirs gives many instances to show how unqualified he temperamentally was for membership of the the Gandhian Congress, to say nothing of its leadership, or for "positions of trust and responsibility" as Gandhi would have put it. Here are some in his own words:

"I opposed Mahatma Gandhi's resolution at the Subjects Committee meeting of the Lahore Congress (1930) condemning the attempt to derail the Viceroy's train at Nizamuddin station, New Delhi, on the ground that it was none of the business of the Congress which had declared its policy of non-violence."

### "RESPECTFUL COOPERATION"

A committee was appointed by the Congress to afford relief to the sufferers from the Bihar earthquake (1934). He tells us that, at its first meeting held at Patna, Gandhi moved a resolution advocating "respectful co-operation" to the Government in the matter of earthquake relief. Says Dr. Khare: "I pleaded that the Mahatma should drop the word 'respectful' because he had described this Government as Satanic and no one could respect Satan. Mahatma did not agree with me. I told him that if he did not drop this word I shall move an amendment to this resolution suggesting to drop that word respectful or substitute for it the word responsive or necessary. Sardar Patel advised me not to do so and not to oppose the resolution of the Mahatma. He said no one would support me. I said that it did not matter. It was a matter of my conscience because I can never respect a Satanic Government. The result was that the Mahatma moved his resolution of offering respectful co-operation and I was the only one person in the whole assembly who opposed him."

In Dr. Khare's list of Congress candidates for the 1936-37 general election, which had to be approved by Sardar Patel before being announced—he was then President of the All-India Congress Parliamentary Committee, Sardar Patel made a change. Says Dr. Khare: "He did so without holding any inquiry into any allegations that might have been made. . . . He also did not make any inquiry from me before announcing the list with this one change. This was highly irregular, improper and unconstitutional and I became awfully angry because I regarded this as a slight to myself. I expressed my anger at the Faizpur session of the Congress in 1936 and I told Sardar Patel in an open meeting of the All-

India Congress Parliamentary Board that this action of his was worse than the action of a British bureaucrat whom we all condemned because the British bureaucrat, if he wanted to punish a person, at least gave him an opportunity to defend himself."

### OLD SCORES TO SETTLE

From these examples, taken at random from Dr. Khare's "Memoirs," it is obvious that Dr. Khare must have been a marked man long before he was asked to quit the Chief Ministership of C.P. He did not seem to have realised that the Congress junta was an undemocratic and cantankerous lot. In the first place, what business had any Congressman, if he was his own well-wisher, to be angry with Sardar Patel, of all persons, or to move an amendment to a resolution of the Mahatma himself? He was not only angry. He gave expression to his anger! Had he realised the character of the Congress leaders of the thirties he would not have played into their hands, as he did in the episode which resulted in his relinquishing the Chief Ministership of C.P. His trump card was his capacity to bring about a split in the C.P. Congress Legislature Party between the Mahakoshalians and Maharashtrais, and it was to avoid it that Gandhi and Patel used all the big guns of the Congress to persuade him to sign his own political death warrant, so far as the Congress was concerned, because the Maharashtrais, knowing all the facts, were against Shukla and Company, and the Congress junta had to avoid that split at all cost. They could not afford to lose a province. Will all the Maharashtrais in the C.P. Legislative Assembly ready to back him, Dr. Khare had the Congress High Command in the hollow of his hand, but his patriotism prevented him from exploiting the situation to his own advantage. The Congress propaganda mill made it appear that Dr. Khare had played into the hands of the British Governor, while the truth was that he had, to his own detriment, played into the hands of Gandhi and Patel, who had old scores to settle with him. It was for that reason that they preferred a man of doubtful repute, whom they knew to be corrupt, to replace him.

Dr. Khare is a fiery Mahratta. As N. C. Chatterjee says in his foreword, "We have yet to come across an Indian who was nominated by the British Viceroy to his Executive Council, and who while in office could have the hardihood to tell the Viceroy: "You are plotting to side-track the question of Indian independence. Is it not the duty of people like us who love their country to expose this plot of yours?"

While a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, Dr. Khare, after an on-the-spot inquiry, dismissed a European camp commandant of European refugee camps. This action was opposed by his departmental secretary, Mr. Bozman, but he over-ruled him. One day he remarked on a file for Mr. Bozman's benefit: "You cannot always appreciate the Indian point of view, because you are congenitally incapable of doing so."

Some of his colleagues in the Viceroy's Executive Council used to ask him the reason for his fearlessness. Dr. Khare used to reply to them: "You people are very anxious to retain your jobs. I do not care for my job. This is the only reason for my fearlessness." No wonder one of them used to call him 'Field Marshal.' The Finance Minister, Sir Archibald Rowlands, once requested Dr. Khare to present him with his Mahratta hat. Wrote he:

My dear Khare,

It was not merely a fit of playfulness that led me to ask you to present me with your Mahratta hat. I genuinely wanted to have it both as a souvenir of a friendship which I greatly value and because I have always been a genuine admirer of the Mahrattas who resemble my own turbulent, warlike and mountaineous (Wales) race. I hope therefore that you will permit me to keep it.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) A. Rowlands

### FRANK CONFESSIONS

Dr. Khare, as must be obvious from the foregoing, is terribly frank. Referring to Gen. Smuts he once told Gandhi: "He is also a pious humbug." But what can beat the following confession:

"My reason for trying to send him to South Africa was quite different. I had no desire to bolster up his greatness. My only desire was to take revenge upon him by debunking him, because I knew from past experience that in South Africa he would enter into some patched up compromise with Gen. Smuts, his friend, which would not be in consonance with India's self-respect. If he did this and returned to India, with that compromise in his pocket, I as a member of the Government of India had the authority to declare that as being against India's self-respect and unacceptable to the Government of India, and thus he would have been debunked from his high pedestal. But all this my desire ended in smoke. . . . Gen. Smuts declined to receive a delegation from the Government of India."

In a letter to Gandhi he once wrote: "Mahatmaji, you are such a good target that my sporting nature asserts itself." The book is full of what Mrs. Sarojini Naidu used in private to call the "Mahatma monkey tricks." Despite his contempt for Congressmen he always supported them when patriotism so demanded. Few know that it was through his efforts that Mavalankar was elected President of the Assembly defeating an official nominee, or that the members of the Congress Working Committee were released in 1945 as a result of his efforts.

Those who may be inclined to doubt the assertions in this book—some of which resemble fairy tales—will have their doubts removed like the Editor of *Kesari* of Poona. The newspaper, while reviewing Dr. Khare's biography, expressed some doubt about the veracity of the Gandhi-Khare interview published in that book. Mr. T. J. Kedar, a common friend of Gandhi and Dr. Khare, who had brought about the interview, wrote a letter to the newspaper confirming the fact that in an interview with him "it was the Mahatma who expressed his

desire to see Dr. Khare and to clear out certain misunderstandings."

### A SERIOUS OMISSION

I have, however, one fault to find with this book. Dr. Khare published an authentic account of the Khare episode in September 1938, under the caption "My Defence" in which facsimile photographs of relevant correspondence had been given. A brief and sketchy account only is given in this book, to enable the readers to know why Dr. Khare became so bitter against Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress Working Committee. But "the historical importance of his career"—to use the words of C. D. Deshmukh—lies mostly in that episode, and Dr. Khare should not have left the inquisitive reader in a quandary, searching for a copy of "My Defence" or for a copy of "He Fought Gandhism" by Indra Prakash, editor of the weekly "Hindoo Outlook" of Delhi.

There are two events which prove Gandhi to have been a pious humbug. One was the Khare episode and the other the expulsion of Bose from the Congress presidency after Gandhi's absent-minded exclamation: "Pattabhi's defeat is my defeat." This was said by the same man who used to say: "I am not even a four-anna member of the Congress!" Dr. Khare does not seem to have realised it, but he proved Gandhi a liar by publishing the facsimile of the draft, mostly in Gandhi's handwriting, in his "My Defence" and again in his "Memoirs", because the Mahatma had issued a statement on July 30, 1938, in which he had said: "With regard to the recent ministerial crisis in the Central Provinces it has been suggested that Dr. Khare was asked to sign a prepared draft, containing humiliating admissions. I have no hesitation in saying that the suggestion is baseless." After going through the draft mostly in Gandhi's handwriting, published in the book, no honest man can have any hesitation in saying that Gandhi was lying when he made that statement of July 30, 1938. (I have taken the text of that statement from "He fought Gandhism" by Indra Prakash.)

The saddest of all episodes related in the book is the double-crossing of Bhulabhai Desai by the Mahatma who died of a broken heart soon after. The Rajkot fast by Gandhi, Dr. Khare thinks, was intended to bury Subhas Chandra Bose and to attract all attention to himself. It was something more than that. Pattabhi's defeat having been Gandhi's defeat, the defeat had to be avenged. Gandhi involved himself in a life-and-death struggle at the time so that, not being even a four-anna member of the Congress, he may not be expected to censure the Congress leaders for such an undemocratic suggestion to Congress President Bose as the securing of the Mahatma's previous approval for his list of members of the Congress Working Committee. As Jinnah used to say, "You have to go deep into them before you can understand the Mahatma's doings and sayings." India's most intelligent cartoonist once gave the Mahatma the title of "Knight of the Double Cross."

The future historian out for truth and nothing but the truth will find plenty of material in Dr. Khare's "Memoirs." It is a book to read, to mark, to learn and to digest. It is a sad commentary on our nationalism that in independent India Dr. Khare was once externed from Delhi, though, of course, nothing can beat the Free India Government's refusal to return the property of Savarkar confiscated by the British Government for his patriotic activities. Dr. Khare's correspondence seized by the C.P. Police in 1938 has not yet been returned!

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MUGHUL EMPIRE by A. L. Srivastava M. A., Ph.D., D.Litt., Professor and Head of the Department of History and Political Science, Agra. Published by Shivalal Agrawala and Co. Private Ltd., Agra. Pages 588. Price Rs. 8. First Published 1952. Second Edition 1957.

In the present period of reconstruction of national life under freedom, the educated public have to assume a greater responsibility for developing intellectual and moral attitudes favourable to progress in our capacity for national self-preservation and cultural efflorescence.

All subjects of culture, art science and philosophy, fall within the ambit of such a needed renaissance. But history has a special claim on special students in this respect.

It is said that all history is but **contemporary history!** The philosopher Benedetto Croce who popularised this dictum meant that even the past is studied and acquires value only for light on contemporary problems! One of the greatest problems of the present era in India concerns the manner in which the history of the country in its different and conflicting panorama, Hindu and Muslim, has to be presented to the present generation. There is a tendency among Muslims to glorify the Muslim epoch of Mughul Rule. There is a counter tendency among Hindus to lay particular stress on the pre-Muslim epoch of Hindu civilisation and greatness.

Those who wish to develop a secular modern culture as the basis of nationalism stress the element of cultural **fusion** that emerged in some degree under Mughul rule and emphasise the **national** character of Akbar and the other Mughuls. Muslims tend to gloss over blemishes of Muslim rule and Hindus tend to draw attention to the bright spots of Indian life resisting the foreigners and maintaining their separate individuality in culture even under onerous conditions of persecution.

History needs to be re-written from the standpoint of impartial truth if it is to serve its mission of forming the basis of lasting cultural assimilation between Hindu and Muslim in a common national patriotism. Evils of both streams of tradition have to be recognised as such and the good evinced in both should also be impartially recognised by both peoples, Hindu and Muslim, without special pleading for their own faith. **Whitewashing** either is futile and only keeps antagonisms alive.

From this point of view, the volume *Mughul Empire* by Dr. Srivastava serves a valuable purpose. It points out that the political and cultural assimilation aimed at by Akbar in his *Din Ilahi* and his administrative policy of treating Hindus and Muslims alike was shortlived. His successors reverted to the orthodox theory of Islam as the basis of political rule. They restarted proselytisation, persecution of Hindus and the destruction of Hindu temples and institutions. The reform movements of Chaitanya, Nanak and Kabir had no influence on Muslims, rulers and people.

Assimilation into a common culture was prevented by the official policy of dealing death to apostates from Islam, of giving special concessions in taxation and jobs to new Muslims, preventing intermarriage between Hindus and Muslims, of punishing the least criticism of the Prophet or his religion by anyone, Muslim or Hindu, with death!

Just as it is impossible to-day in communist countries to advocate religion or even economic views contrary to Marxism under pain of drastic punishment, it was impossible for anyone under Mughul rule to discuss in public the tenets of Islam and to criticise it from a rational or even a spiritual point of view.

The Mughul administration was based on Islamic principles and considered itself the handmaid of Islam. The gulf between Hindu and Muslim was maintained intact throughout except for a brief period under Akbar.

The two cultures had no fair and equal opportunities to find themselves in open competition based on truth and experience.

Conditions were such that assimilation was very difficult, if not impossible.

Moreover Islam is by nature exclusive in its claims while the universal toleration of Hinduism makes for its weakness and easy absorption by fanatical faiths.

The right policy to be pursued today for evolving a common nationalism has to be forged keeping these facts in view. The present secular policy should not degenerate into indifference to both. The presence of conflicting cultures should be reconciled with common attachment to the nation in the field of citizenship. The loyalty to Islam as a world force should be subordinated to India as the motherland. The development of sentiments and attitudes favourable to such national unification in spite of cultural diversity should not require any distortion of the events of the past.

The present book under review keeps these national problems in mind while giving a detailed description of the various phases of Mughul rule including the rise, maturity and decline of the Maratha Power.

The overwhelming weakness of our people throughout the centuries, in spite of heroic episodes has been the fatal lack of a sense of national unity. Rajputs cooperated with Mughuls to the undoing

of their own future. Maratha fought and intrigued against Maratha, though they were the inspirers of Hindu revival and greatness in the political field.

Dr. Srivastava offers a fair foundation for reflection on these problems of national reconstruction. His book is more than scholastic in its interest and appeal. Statesmen and the general citizen should take an interest in the volume which is priced moderately at Rs. 8 for its size of nearly 600 pages.

—M. A. Venkata Rao

## Gleanings from the Press

### MARX DEFROCKED

A German magazine this month used the climactic Wagnerian word, *GOTTERDAMMERUNG*, to sum up what is now happening to socialism in the Free World. The description is premature, no doubt, and it obscures how heavy a trace the gods of socialism will have left on our world even if they are now about to leave it. But the recent omens are impressive.

On the heels of the smashing third-in-a-row defeat of Britain's socialist Labour Party comes the manifesto of the Bad Godesberg convention of the German Social Democratic Party—doyen and dean of world socialism since its formation in 1870. By a large majority the German ex-socialists have explicitly renounced the central doctrines of Marxism. They abandon the classical socialist demand for government ownership of industry, uphold "free competition in a free economy," "free choice of competitive goods for consumers and free choice of jobs by workers," and—for the first time in the party's history—declare full support of national defense. The German social democrats are bowing to hard practical realities; to the facts—contrary to Marx—that the majority of society has not been proletarianized; that capitalism has operated according to a law of economic mass improvement instead of the Marxian "law of increasing misery;" that most people, workers included have found by experience that they prefer to work for private competing firms rather than for government monopolies; that they love their country and are cold to abstract internationalism.

Yielding to these realities as the necessary price of staying in the business of politics, the Social Democrats still cling to ideas of egalitarianism, welfareism and centralised government control which can bring the totalitarian evils of government monopolies that they now formally repudiate. Still, wisdom is seldom acquired at a single jump. The direction taken by the Bad Godesberg delegates was correct, even though they have some way yet to go.

—"National Review"

# News Digest

## CHOOSE BETWEEN LIBERTY AND SLAVERY

Kerala: Shri Ashok Mehta, Chairman of the P.S.P. said here that the midterm election in Kerala was very important as the people had to decide the path on which they had to travel—the path of freedom or the path of slavery. Its importance was also enhanced by what was happening across the northern frontiers, he said. The conflict between India and China started when the Communist Party took over the Government of China. There was nothing to be surprised at, for it is the nature of Communism to create trouble and create aggression. The Communists of China and the Communists of India are intimately associated because of this affiliation, he added.

## POPULATION EXPERT CALLS FOR MASS STERILIZATION

Hyderabad: Dr. S. Chandrasekhar, Director, Indian Institute for population studies suggested here mass sterilization to change the present picture of unplanned families in unplanned cities. He pointed out that while India was still predominantly an agrarian country and a country of villages, its urban population had increased from nine per cent in 1901 to more than 20 per cent in 1959. In the major cities the population has trebled in the past 30 years. The basic amenities of life were not available in the cities which live in conditions of filth and disease. The only way out to get over this pressure is mass sterilization. Poverty and misery in our cities warrant such a drastic solution he said. An ideal contraceptive in his opinion should be one that was cheap, harmless and acceptable and durable. He made a strong plea for educating the masses on the necessity of birth control.

## KAMATH DEMANDS ARMED ACTION AGAINST CHINA

Mr. H. V. Kamath, Chairman of the State branch of the Praja Socialist Party called upon Prime Minister Nehru to progressively take diplomatic and military measures to eject the Chinese troops from Indian soil in the face of Peking's refusal to vacate aggression. He said that India should take military action in Ladakh if China did not vacate the area forcibly occupied by it. The Government of India should take military aid from all the countries including the Soviet Union to help it throw back the aggressor. He added that Mr. Nehru should emulate the example of Nasser of U.S.R. and President Sukarno of Indonesia and issue a stern warning to Chinese missions in India that anti-Indian propaganda by them would lead to their closure. The treatment meted out by the Chinese to the Indian traders in Tibet called for a reciprocal action against China's trade in India he added.

## CONGRESS DRIVING INDIA TOWARDS COMMUNISM

Patna: Mr. M. R. Masani, MP, general secretary of the Swatantra Party, said here that the Congress had miserably failed in its food and foreign

policies during the last 12 years but still it was in power as there was no alternative political party to replace it.

He hoped that the Swatantra Party would fill the vacuum in the next general elections. The party had already made headway in Madras where nearly 100,000 had been enrolled as members. Similarly in Uttar Pradesh about 60,000 persons had joined the Swatantra Party.

The Swatantra Party which represented agriculturists would play the role of an effective opposition, he added.

Mr. Masani, who was addressing a public meeting, strongly criticised Mr. Nehru's socialist pattern of society and said: "I do not say that the Congress is deliberately attempting to introduce Communism in the country but consciously or unconsciously it is driving the nation towards it."

He said Communism was a "horrible" creed which would let loose a reign of misery, depredation and degradation as was experienced in Russia's collectivization and China's communes.

## REGIONAL LANGUAGES AS MEDIUM OPPOSED

Jabalpur: The Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, Mr. N. K. Sidhanta, said that the "immediate substitution of regional languages for English will deprive students of the sheet-anchor of English books, which are still the main repositories of knowledge for higher education."

Mr. Sidhanta, in his presidential address to the 34th All-India Educational Conference, added: "The emotional integration of the nation and the academic unity of India are still possible only through the medium of English."

He admitted that the continuance of the English medium imposed a handicap on undergraduates who did not come from secondary schools with the mastery of English they formerly had. But he suggested that the immediate substitution of regional languages would have to be done with extreme care.

## SUPPORT BY 21 LEGISLATORS

Banaras: The President of the U.P. unit of the Swatantra Party, Mr. S. K. D. Paliwal, claimed the support of at least 21 legislators for his party in the State.

He told a news conference that when the legislature party is formally organised it would be the second largest opposition group in the Vidhan Sabha.

He said that about 50,000 persons had enrolled themselves as members of the party in 45 districts. He described the rural response as "tremendous."

He forecast the rapid development of the Swatantra Party in view of its ideological appeal, sound leadership and adequate funds. Capitalists in their own interest would help the party, he said.

## MONOPOLY TRADING AIDS PROFITEERING

Gurgaon: Prof. N. G. Ranga, Chairman of the Swatantra Party, said that his party was opposed to monopoly trading by the Government or anybody else, because it led to profiteering at the cost of both producers and consumers.

Inaugurating the Swatantra Party Conference at Rewari, he said his party believed that peasants could thrive only in a competitive market.

Referring to co-operative farming, Prof. Ranga said that Mr. Nehru was aiming at regimentation in the agricultural sphere. The Prime Minister's assurance that nobody would be coerced to take to co-operative farming was meaningless. As the implementation of the scheme depended on Government officials and subsidies, the element of coercion could not be ruled out, he added.

#### JOINT ASIAN FRONT URGED

Prof. Ranga referred to a recent statement by the leader of a U.S. farmers' delegation in India that co-operative farming could not be expected to raise production.

Referring to China's incursions on India's northern borders, Prof. Ranga likened Mr. Nehru's policy to that of Mr. Neville Chamberlain, a former British Prime Minister.

#### INDIAN POLICY FOR LADAKH

Wardha: Mahavir Tyagi said here recently that China had been encouraged to commit aggression on Indian territory because of the lenient policy that the Indian government professed. The situation on the border was bound to worsen if time was wasted in writing more notes to the Chinese government. He asserted that the Chinese had constructed roads and air-fields which her forces had occupied. He deplored the fact that the Prime Minister did not inform the country of the incursions by the Chinese forces over five years ago. He appealed to the Government to take drastic steps to evict the aggressors.

#### IN LIGHTER VEIN

Having a soft corner for the United States of America, I could not help sending the following to the American President when he reached Delhi: Respected Guest: You have come here at a psychological moment, when our great leader, Mr. Nehru, is in a mood to offer protection to all and sundry. Why not put in a word for your own country and induce him to declare: "An attack on the United States will be considered an attack on India." You have doubtless heard the lines:

There is a tide in the affairs of men  
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune....

I hope, therefore, that as a patriotic American you will not miss this golden opportunity—I beg to remain, Sir, One of your numerous admirers.

"I do submit," said Mr. Nehru on December 8 last, "that the broad policy that we have pursued in the past has been a correct policy and is a correct policy today—the policy of non-alignment or the policy of peaceful co-existence or Panch Sheel." He had, however, to admit, almost in the same breath, that "it is a big misfortune that we should be confronted with a situation which threatens military conflict and war.

We have been right and correct for such a long time—in fact since Mahatma Gandhi entered Indian

politics in earnest in 1920—and always with wrong and incorrect results, that it seems high time we tried incorrect and wrong methods (like the western bloc) to ensure correct results and peace in the country and the world.

"I do not understand when members ask how long are we going to put up with this kind of thing," said Mr. Nehru in Parliament, and asked, "What does it mean?" And, although he did not understand the question, he proceeded to answer it—this is exactly what most students do in the examination hall—by saying: "We will have to put up with it so long as circumstances required it." Obviously the circumstances do not exclude non-alignment!

"It may be a week," he added, "or a year or ten years or hundred years, metaphorically speaking." The clarification of Government policy is crystal clear, metaphorically speaking, but the metaphor itself seems to have undergone a metaphosis in the mind of our Prime Minister!

Col. Pir Mohammed Khan of Jammu and Kashmir was repeatedly cheered by the Congress as well as Opposition benches as he gave his alternative plan in Parliament, saying that the Indian jawan was more than a match for the Chinese soldier." The "blaguardly language of cold war," to use Mr. Nehru's phrase, naturally provoked the Prime Minister later, but the Congress benches had already registered their votes in chicken-hearted fashion. What the Colonel added proves the success attending wrong methods (of alignment etc.). "China had surreptitiously occupied 10,000 square miles of Indian territory in Ladakh," he said, "but had taken care not to touch even an inch of the same Ladakh, north of Hunza, which happened to be under Pakistan occupation."

That is because, as he later explained, Pakistan is an enemy and India a friend of China and the Communist bloc. God save us from our friends, both at home and abroad!

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## Letter to the Editor

### McMAHON Vs. MAOCHOU LINE

Madam,

Since time immemorial it has been practised and proved that "POSSESSION IS NINE POINTS OF THE LAW" and History has proved that every aggressor takes possession and consolidates FIRST, of another Nation's country or part of it and then TALKS or NEGOTIATES afterwards. The very latest examples are that of Russia and China who both have changed the geography of the twentieth century.

Now the Chini-bhais have promoted themselves into Uncles-Chini and thereby given our P.M. an inferiority complex and also he has been caught napping for neglecting to fortify and garrison our country's one thousand miles long Northern Bor-

ders whilst the Indian army was made to face the real Small-Bhai Pakistan since these past many years.

Both the two Top Commies have been encouraging our mugs to go on practising a fratricidal blunder and like 'the Monkey judging the quarrels of two cats for a piece of cheese' the Chinks have acquired some portion of our Northern Frontier as his fees for BACKING-UP the elder brother against the younger one (Pak) this being the only and the best way to acquire the frontier, by keeping both these brothers SEPARATED AND QUARRELING.

By the time summer arrives and the approaches to our Northern Borders are passable and possible we will find that, within these next four months, the Chinks have ACQUIRED AND CONSOLIDATED (fortified) MOST OF THE PASSES AND TRACKS ALL ALONG OUR BORDER FROM EAST TO WEST; whilst our revered P.M. is only TALKING AND DESPATCHING LETTERS OF PROTESTS. The Chinks know that it is all GAS and nothing to be afraid of and now that they are 'On the Go'—expanding and consolidating—they will not stop till all the small Himalayan Buffer-States become Satellites. The Chela-Chink must follow in the footsteps of his Guru-Ruski who will never object as long as the Chela expands Southwards and does not clash with him.

I am neither Unpatriotic nor a pessimist, but being an old soldier and having studied most of the world's past and present military tactics—specially that of the Commies—I am able to forecast a few results by anticipation of their next moves.

Our ONLY REMEDY (which the P.M. & D.M. will not act upon) IS TO WITHDRAW MOST OF THE WELL TRAINED AND SEASONED TROOPS

FROM KASHMIR (seasoned and trained they are after so many years of fighting and garrisoning the snowy and mountainous regions) AND DEPLOY THEM ALL ALONG OUR NORTHERN BORDERS AND ALSO THAT OF THE THREE BUFFER STATES OF BHUTAN-SIKKIM AND NEPAL (showing them of our serious and sincere intentions of help and defence) AND SIMULTANEOUSLY COMPLETE A TREATY OF MUTUAL DEFENCE WITH OUR YOUNGER BROTHER PAKISTAN. (my letter of June 1/6). The Pakistani being of Hindustani origin, the war if at all there is one will be localised. BUT if any other foreign nation is allowed to help us (we having deilared as Non-aligned and Neutral, then it will be "A FREE FOR ALL GENERAL WAR", then God help us and our neighbours from such a calamity.

Do you think that our present day leaders can see into the FUTURE AND ANTICIPATE THE NEXT MOVE OF THE COMMUNISTS? NO.

I am sure of their NEGATIVE APPROACH to this problem and our leaders being followers of the cut of Ahimsa will do nothing.

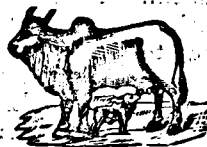
The Commies knowing this fact have taken the law of "POSSESSION FIRST AND TALK AFTERWARDS", and also they can and WILL COMPETE very well with our P.M. and D.M. being themselves well-versed in "The Gift of the Gab".

Our present urgency is in ACTION AND NOT WORDS and I hope and Pray that the centuries old History does not repeat itself, and may GOD SAVE HIND MATA FROM FURTHER INJURY AND MAULING. Amen.

Poona —Homi Driver

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